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TENNESSEANS TO THEIR COUNTRY'S DEFENSE.

THE DELIVERANCE OF CUBA, OUR DUTY AND OUR GLORY.

SPEECHES

OF

HON. HENRY R. GIBSON,

OF TENNESSEE,

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IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

MARCH 8 AND APRIL 27, 1898.

WASHINGTON.
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SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY R. GIBSON,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 8, 1898.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 8927) appropriating $50,000,000 for the national defense—

Mr. GIBSON said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I represent a people whose ancestors were the men who on the banks of the Alamance fought the first battle ever fought on the continent of America against British oppression; a people whose soldiers at the great battle of Point Pleasant defeated the confederated Indian nations under Logan, Cornstalk, and Red Eagle, and saved the frontier settlements from the torch, the tomahawk, and the scalping knife of the merciless red man; a people whose grandfathers at King's Mountain turned the tide of Revolutionary warfare in favor of American Independence; a people whose fathers fought with Jackson and Coffee behind the cotton bales at New Orleans, who gave Crockett and Houston to the cause of Texas, and who marched with Scott from Vera Cruz to Mexico; a people who in the late war, whether fighting under Kirby Smith, Forrest, Cheatham, or Bate, on the one side, or under Jim Brownlow, Joe Cooper, Farragut, Spears, or Stokes, on the other, displayed a valor and a devotion worthy of the heroism of their ancestors. [Applause.] And these people are to-day, as were their forefathers in their day, ready and willing to rally to their country's defense and to risk their lives in vindication of their country's cause, and, if duty require, to die in support of their country's rights.

Representing such a people, inspired by the spirits of such heroic ancestors, and strengthened by the consciousness of the justness of our cause, I shall take a patriotic pride in casting my vote for this bill. And should the President call for soldiers in this great emergency, the mountains of East Tennessee will, within forty-eight hours, furnish enough volunteers to drive every Spanish soldier off the American continent and raise in Cuba the flag of Cuban independence. [Applause.]

And, Mr. Speaker, I am proud to be able to say that the same patriotism that stirs the hearts of my people, with like thrill stirs the hearts of all Americans, whether living north or south of the Ohio, whether living east or west of the Mississippi, whether Republicans or Democrats, and whether they fought under Grant or fought under Lee. Our voices are all in chorus to-day. We all keep step to the tune of our country. Our bodies are seventy millions, but our hearts are one. Our treasure and our wealth

are as dirt when compared with the glory, the honor, and the welfare of our country.

Let all the nations of the earth know, once for all, that, while seeking trouble with none, while preferring the pursuits of peace, nevertheless we are jealous of our country's just rights, we are mindful of our national duties, and we stand ever ready to vindicate our honor and discharge every responsibility of patriotism; and if doing this causes war, then let war come. [Applause.] And woe unto that nation that causes the war!

By ravens and buzzards assailed on his crag,
The eagle in wrath wreaks a vengeance most dire;
When our honor is touched, and insulted our flag,
With vengeance we'll battle, with steel and with fire,
And fearful the havoc we'll make in our ire.

[Applause.]

The Deliverance of Cuba, Our Duty and Our Glory.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY R. GIBSON,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 27, 1898.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 10100) to provide ways and means to meet war expenditures—

Mr. GIBSON said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I rise to discuss not only the question of revenue to carry on the war with Spain, but also the causes that brought on this war.

Almost touching the shores of the United States is the Island of Cuba, the most beautiful island and the most fertile in all this Western Hemisphere, containing when the present insurrection began about 1,900,000 people and about 43,000 square miles, just about the population and area of my State of Tennessee.

CUBA'S FORMER STRUGGLES FOR LIBERTY.

Mr. Chairman, from my early boyhood I have been interested in the Island of Cuba and in the struggles of its people to obtain their freedom. I remember the expeditions of that heroic patriot, Narciso Lopez, and how he finally was defeated and he himself executed, dying a martyr to the cause of Cuban liberty, his last words being a prayer that some day his beloved island might be free. I remember, also, the gallant Crittenden, of Kentucky, a comrade of Lopez; how he was captured and brutally shot, and how, when ordered to kneel with his back to his executioners, he defiantly and grandly replied that an American never turned his back to his enemies and never kneeled except to his God.

I recall the many patriotic incidents of Cuba's ten years' struggle for liberty, from 1868 to 1878, battling against all the power of despotic Spain. The soil of Cuba has been reddened by the sacred blood of thousands of her heroic sons who have died in her holy cause, while thousands of other patriot sons have perished

in dungeons because they would not bend their knees to the tyrants of Spain. But these martyrs did not die in vain.

They never fail who die
In a great cause. The block may soak their gore;
Their heads may sodden in the sun; their limbs
Be strung to city gates and castle walls;
But still their spirit walks abroad. Though years
Elapse, and others share as dark a doom,
They but augment the deep and sweeping thoughts
Which overpower all others and conduct
The world at last to freedom.

BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT INSURRECTION.

When, three years ago, Mr. Chairman, the patriots of Cuba again raised the flag of freedom and drew their machetes in its defense, the eyes of the whole American people turned toward that beautiful island and our prayers went up in their behalf. The Cubans had long been looking to this country for material assistance, but, despairing of any helpers, resolved to rely on their own right arms. And this was well, for no people deserve freedom who will not make great sacrifices to obtain it.

Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow.

And the Cubans began to strike, and to strike like heroes and like patriots. Victory after victory was won by them and republican government established. Believing them entitled to recognition as belligerents, and finding my constituents of the same belief, on January 20, 1896, more than two years ago, I introduced the following resolutions in this House:

Resolution favoring the recognition of the belligerent rights of the Cuban revolutionists.

Whereas the Cuban revolutionists have now for many months demonstrated their ability to withstand the military power of Spain, and have for months been in possession of two-thirds of their island; and

Whereas the Spanish Government, having failed to repress the revolution by civilized warfare, is reliably reported to have determined to inaugurate a campaign of blood and barbarity, the results of which will almost certainly be cold-blooded massacres and brutal butcheries; aud

Whereas the first atrocity of a sanguinary character on the part of the Spanish authorities, in their campaign of carnage, will arouse an outburst of indignant wrath on the part of the people of the United States so unanimous and tremendous as to render the enforcement of our neutrality laws difficult, if not impossible; and

Whereas we, the free and freedom-loving citizens of America, can not afford to stand voiceless and motionless while our fellow-citizens of America are being butchered like beasts by foreign armies, almost before our very eyes, for no crime except that, like us, they love liberty and want their country to be free: Therefore, in the interest of liberty and in the name of humanity and American brotherhood,

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the United States of America, That it is the sense of this House that the time has arrived for the recognition of the belligerent rights of the Cuban revolutionists, to the end that the further effusion of human blood may be prevented and the struggling patriots of Cuba be placed on a footing of equality with their Spanish enemies.

Resolved further, That the Committee on Foreign Affairs be instructed to report at an early day an appropriate resolution in favor of the immediate recognition of the belligerent rights of the Cuban revolutionists by the Government of the United States.

Other resolutions of a similar character were introduced into both Houses of Congress, and we finally resolved, on April 6, 1896, more than two years ago, both Houses concurring, as follows:

CONGRESS RECOGNIZES CUBAN BELLIGERENTS.

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That, in the opinion of Congress, a condition of public war exists between the Government of Spain and the government proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms by the people of Cuba, and that the United States of America should maintain a strict neutrality between the contending powers, according to each all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territory of the United States.

Resolved further, That the friendly offices of the United States should be offered by the President to the Spanish Government for the recognition of the independence of Cuba.

Mr. Cleveland was then President, and he declined to take any steps towards recognizing the belligerency of the Cuban insurgents. But matters drifted from bad to worse until the Spanish Captain-General began to seize American citizens and thrust them into damp, dark dungeons. My people being indignant at such high-handed atrocities, on the 23d of February, 1897, I introduced the following resolutions into this House:

Joint resolution to enforce the rights of American citizens in Cuba.

Whereas many American citizens have been illegally and without sufficient cause arrested and imprisoned in the Island of Cuba by the Spanish authorities; and

Whereas some of these Americans thus wrongfully arrested and imprisoned have been thrust into dark and foul dungeons, and some of them have been denied the necessaries of life, and some have been maltreated without trial, and some have been inhumanly done to death; and

Whereas in a majority of the cases these Americans thus unlawfully arrested and barbarously dealt with have been denied the trial guaranteed them by the treaties between the United States and Spain, and have been treated in a manner unworthy of a civilized nation or a people professing to be Christians; and

Whereas it is well known that many of these Americans have been maltreated and some of them butchered, not because of any fault of theirs, but to enable Spanish officials to vent their hatred of the United States and to exhibit their animosity toward Americans in general; and

Whereas these wicked, illegal, and barbarous deeds of the Spanish officials in Cuba, sustained as they have been by the lawful authorities of Spain, are an intentional insult and injury to the whole people and Government of the United States; and

Whereas the further submission of the Government of the United States to these atrocities and outrages upon our citizens in Cuba will degrade our Government in the estimation of the lovers of liberty and justice the world over, and be at the same time a grievous wrong and humiliation to every citizen of the United States, an injury to one being an injury to all: Therefore, to the end that justice be done, the rights of American citizenship asserted and vindicated, the honor of our country sustained, and the laws of humanity and civilization enforced,

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to demand of the Spanish authorities in Cuba the immediate restoration to liberty of every American citizen, native born or naturalized, now imprisoned by them in the Island of Cuba.

SEC. 2. That in support of that demand the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to accompany it by the presence of a sufficient number of United States ships of war to make the demand good; and if said demand is not granted within twenty-four hours that the city of Havana, and if need be other ports of Cuba, be bombarded until said demand is fully complied with and all of said American citizens delivered to the commander of our war ships.

A similar resolution was introduced into the Senate, but before action on either, Captain-General Weyler ordered some of the Americans to be released and the others better treated, and there the matter was allowed to rest for a season.

SPAIN'S DECLINE AND DESPOTISM.

Mr. Chairman, there was a day when Spain was a mighty nation and owned nearly the whole of South America and more than half of North America. She owned all of South America except Brazil and Guiana, and owned all of North America except Canada and that part of the United States north of Florida and east of the Mississippi.

It is hard at this day to realize that Florida, Louisiana, and all of our States and Territories west of the Mississippi were Spanish territory less than one hundred years ago. Indeed, Spain controlled the navigation of the Mississippi, and required every boat that sailed down it to pay her tribute money. It was this great fact that caused the discontent in the Mississippi Valley, of which

Aaron Burr took advantage; and so great was the oppression of Spain that the people of my own State of Tennessee, in their constitution, demanded the free navigation of the Mississippi, and placed on her seal the device of a boat sailing on a river, as you will see by looking at it there above your head [pointing to the coat of arms of the State of Tennessee in the center of the ceiling of the Hall of the House], meaning by that sign to conquer our way to the sea, which we would have done had not Spain ceded the territory to France and France sold it to the United States.

Yes, Spain once owned nearly the whole Western Hemisphere. She was rich, she was powerful, she was warlike; but now she has lost nearly all of her possessions and has become poor and weak. Only Cuba and Porto Rico are left to her on this side of the Atlantic, and for fifty years she has enslaved the people of these islands and robbed them of their hard earnings, robbed them of the money made from the sweat of their faces and the blood of their backs. Yes, Spain, in her pride and poverty, is treating Cuba like a poor but proud and once wealthy family treated their only slave before the war—made him do the work of three and gave him but little to wear and less to eat. [Laughter.] Spain wants Cuba to pay enough taxes to support the Queen and the boy King so they may dress in purple and fine linen and fare sumptuously every day. And to do this she levies upon the Cubans taxes so enormous as to confiscate nearly all the fruits of their labor and to make them but little more than slaves.

OBJECTIONS TO CUBAN INDEPENDENCE.

Some say, Mr. Chairman, that the Republic of Cuba is only a "paper government;" that it has no real existence. If the insurgents have only a "paper government," how does it happen that they have for three long and bloody years so successfully resisted the whole power of Spain to conquer them? Spain has sent against this "paper government" no less than three captains-general and 300,000 men, besides scores of ships of war, and yet this "paper government" has grown and strengthened all the time, and the power of Spain to suppress has grown weaker and weaker all the time.

Others say the insurgents are nothing but a lot of "mountaineers." Thank God, Mr. Speaker, for "mountaineers"! Read the history of freedom the wide world over, and you will find that the "mountaineers" have always been the first to raise the flag of freedom and the last to lower it. When liberty was dead or asleep everywhere else on the continent of Europe it was alive and awake in the Alpine Mountains. All that has been left of true religion and liberty on the continent of Africa for a thousand years is found in the mountains of Abyssinia. Take out of Asia the men of her mountains and what will be left would soon become the servants of servants and the mockery of men.

The men of the mountains have been that salt which has given the savor of liberty to the human race in all the ages of the past, and if you strike out of the grand volume of freedom the glorious deeds and patriotic sacrifices of the men of the mountains it would be like striking the sun, moon, and stars from the heavens above us.

How glorious, Mr. Chairman, the record of the mountain men in our own history! It was the men of the Green Mountains who fought the battle of Bennington and so crippled Burgoyne that he was forced to surrender at Saratoga. It was the mountain men of Tennessee and the Carolinas who defeated Ferguson at

Kings Mountain and drove Cornwallis to Yorktown, where he was captured, a capture that ended the war of the Revolution.

And in our second war with England, when the British had captured Hull in the North, had seized this city of Washington and burned this Capitol here in the East, it was the mountaineers of the South who, under Jackson at New Orleans, hurled back the choicest troops in the British army, and made the valor and patriotism of the American soldier at once the pride and glory of our country and the wonder of the world.

PATRIOTISM OF THE MOUNTAINEERS OF THE SOUTH.

And in the late war between the States, when the men from the cities and plains of the South lifted up a new banner and sung a new song and fought for a new country, the mountaineers of the South, wherever found, whether in West Virginia or eastern Kentucky, whether in western North Carolina or in East Tennessee, were found ever true to the old flag of their fathers, ever singing the old songs of their mothers, and ever fighting for that country which Washington had done so much to found, which Jackson had done so much to preserve, and which Polk had done so much to enlarge.

And I feel bold to say here to-day that had it not been for the mountain men of the South; had it not been for their unswerving devotion to the Union; had it not been for their skill and enterprise as scouts and spies; had it not been for the valor and intrepidity of the more than 100,000 of them who joined the Union armies; had they not, by their stores and supplies and their reenforcements, saved Burnside at Knoxville; had they not opened and kept open that back door to the heart of the Southern Confederacy through which Sherman marched from Chattanooga to Atlanta and from Atlanta to the sea, no man can tell when or where or how the war of the rebellion would have ended.

So, Mr. Chairman, when I heard that the Cuban insurgents were mountain men, then I knew that they would never cease fighting until they had achieved the independence of their country. It is true, deceived by the false promises of Spain, some of them have at times suspended their struggle, but the great mass of the Cuban people have never allowed the sacred flame of liberty to die out in their hearts; and at last the day of their deliverance is at hand, for—

> Freedom's battle, once begun,
> Bequeath'd by bleeding sire to son,
> Though baffled oft, is ever won.

In the political campaign two years ago all of our great political parties declared that the people of Cuba should be free. I quote from the platforms:

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

We extend our sympathy to the people of Cuba in their heroic struggle for liberty and independence.

POPULIST PLATFORM.

We tender to the patriotic people of Cuba our deepest sympathy in their heroic struggle for political freedom and independence, and we believe the time has come when the United States, the great Republic of the world, should recognize that Cuba is and of right ought to be a free and independent state.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

From the hour of achieving their own independence the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American people to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty.

The Government of Spain having lost control of Cuba and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the Government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.

It will thus be seen, Mr. Chairman, that the people of the United States, speaking solemnly and deliberately through the national conventions of their great parties, have unanimously resolved and decreed that the people of the Island of Cuba should be free and independent, and if we fail to execute this mandate of the American people then will we fail in our duty, and to that extent we cease to be representatives of the people and become obstructionists and betrayers of the trust reposed in us by our constituents.

So fierce was the struggle, such was the slaughter of the combatants, such the sufferings of the noncombatants, and such the damage to the commerce of the island, that President Cleveland two years ago, as an act of humanity, made an effort to bring about a peace through the mediation of this Government on the basis of self-government by the Cubans under the Spanish flag. But the Government of Spain refused to hearken to our friendly intercession, and so the war continued.

SPAIN'S POLICY OF CONCENTRATION AND STARVATION.

Captain-General Weyler devised what is called the policy of "concentration," in pursuance of which he required all the people living outside of the cities to move into the cities and burned all their houses and destroyed or appropriated their cattle and horses. Perhaps, Mr. Chairman, I can not do better than to quote right here what President McKinley said in his message to us two weeks ago:

The efforts of Spain were increased both by the dispatch of fresh levies to Cuba and by the addition to the horrors of the strife of a new and inhuman phase happily unprecedented in the modern history of civilized Christian peoples. The policy of devastation and concentration inaugurated by the Captain-General's bando of October 21, 1896, in the Province of Pinar del Rio was thence extended to embrace all of the island to which the power of the Spanish arms was able to reach by occupation or by military operations. The peasantry, including all dwelling in the open agricultural interior, were driven into the garrison towns or isolated places held by the troops.

The raising and movement of provisions of all kinds were interdicted. The fields were laid waste, dwellings unroofed and fired, mills destroyed, and, in short, everything that could desolate the land and render it unfit for human habitation or support was commanded by one or the other of the contending parties and executed by all the powers at their disposal.

* * * * * * *

The agricultural population to the estimated number of 300,000 or more was herded within the towns and their immediate vicinage, deprived of the means of support, rendered destitute of shelter, left poorly clad, and exposed to the most unsanitary conditions. As the scarcity of food increased with the devastation of the depopulated areas of production, destitution and want became misery and starvation. Month by month the death rate increased in an alarming ratio. By March, 1897, according to conservative estimates from official Spanish sources, the mortality among the reconcentrados, from starvation and the diseases thereto incident, exceeded 50 per cent of their total number.

No practical relief was accorded to the destitute. The overburdened towns, already suffering from the general dearth, could give no aid. So-called "zones of cultivation" established within the immediate areas of effective military control about the cities and fortified camps proved illusory as a remedy for the suffering. The unfortunates, being for the most part women and children, with aged and helpless men, enfeebled by disease and hunger, could not have tilled the soil without tools, seed, or shelter, for their own support or for the supply of the cities. Reconcentration, adopted avowedly as a war measure in order to cut off the resources of the insurgents, worked its predestined result. As I said in my message of last December, it was not civilized warfare; it was extermination. The only peace it could beget was that of the wilderness and the grave.

And keep in mind, Mr. Chairman, that this is not the rhetorical language of a newspaper editorial or a campaign speech, but the moderate and measured words of a solemn state paper based on incontrovertible facts.

THE HORRORS OF SPAIN'S PRISON PENS.

Picture the condition of the Cubans to-day. All the farmers and villagers and country people forced to move into the cities, where they have been fenced in by a ditch called a "trocha," and on the outside of this ditch or "trocha" is a strong and high fence made of barbed wire, built to keep the country people inside and to keep the insurgents out, with little forts at every corner and all along the line, filled with soldiers who shoot every man, woman, or child who gets out or attempts to cross the line.

In these prison pens, Mr. Chairman, are concentrated all of the people of Cuba who are not with the insurgents. We all have read of Andersonville and Salisbury, but these Spanish prison pens are far worse than any our soldiers suffered in during the war of the rebellion, for in the Cuban prison pens are not only tens of thousands of men, but tens of thousands of women and children, many half clothed, many stark naked, many dying in the open air and on the open ground every hour, many lying around dead who have been left unburied for days and days, tens of thousands sick without nurses or medicine, hundreds of thousands starving slowly but surely to death, the cries of children for bread, the moans of mothers whose breasts yield no nourishment for their famishing babes, the curses of despairing men with no means to save their wives and children from starvation and diseases—such are the sights and sounds on the Island of Cuba to-day, and such have been the sights and sounds for over a year, until more than 200,000 people have died from starvation or from diseases incident to their living cooped up in these prison pens, with their exposure to the weather, to the horrible fumes from the filth and dead bodies, without physicians and without medicines. If ever any government has inaugurated a hell on earth, it is in Cuba to-day.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE MAINE.

Affairs on the Island of Cuba were in this awful condition of anarchy, starvation, disease, and death, our Government doing nothing and uncertain what, under the law of nations, it might do, when, on the 15th of February last, the destruction of our magnificent war ship *Maine* in the harbor of Havana startled our people. Sometimes, Mr. Chairman, it takes a great calamity to awaken a man to his sins, and sometimes it takes a great calamity to awaken a nation to its duties.

Mr. Chairman, how was the *Maine* destroyed? The unanimous report of the court of inquiry was that she was blown up by an explosion of a mine placed under her bottom. Mr. Chairman, everybody knows that a mine large enough and strong enough to blow an immense and powerful ironclad ship into small pieces was no cheap affair, liable to be in the hands or possession of a private citizen. We know that the Spanish authorities in Havana did not allow private citizens to have such explosives in their possession.

We know that the Spanish officials did have mines and torpedoes, and we have the strongest evidence that they laid mines in the harbor, to be exploded by electricity from the shore. We know the *Maine* was anchored at a particular buoy, designated by a Spanish officer, a spot where it was very unusual for a vessel to

be moored. We know that Spanish officials hated the *Maine* and wanted her destroyed, and that their only means of destruction were the mines and torpedoes in the harbor; and we know she was destroyed by them, and destroyed, too, at a time when these very same Spanish officials were specially enraged at the United States because of the expulsion of De Lôme, the Spanish minister, for his insulting letter about President McKinley and Cuban affairs.

In the light of these facts, who can doubt, Mr. Chairman, that the *Maine* was blown up by Spanish officials, especially when we consider that the Spaniards are reputed to be the most treacherous, the most revengeful, and the most perfidious of all people called civilized?

Never in the history of mankind was there committed a crime more cold-blooded in its conception, more diabolical in its premeditation, or more malignant and perfidious in its execution than the destruction of the *Maine* and the massacre of her crew.

To think, Mr. Chairman, that this magnificent ship of war, this grand marvel of naval architecture, this wonderfully harmonious combination of strength and symmetry, of beauty and power; this mighty and glorious American ship, fair as a visitant from heaven in the day of peace, but terrible as a demon from hell in the hour of battle; this ship, sleeping at night in what was supposed to be the absolute security of a friendly harbor, her crew of American heroes dreaming in their beds of love, or home, or glory; this ship and these men, without warning, in the twinkling of an eye, in the darkness and stillness of the night, blown to pieces, hurled into the vortex of the sea, and utterly destroyed, as though she was some

> Perfidious bark,
> Built in th' eclipse, and rigg'd with curses dark!

On February 28, a few days after the *Maine* had been blown up, believing that our country was on the eve of war, and believing it would be a war upon the sea and not on the land, and knowing that our Navy ought to be strengthened, I introduced the following:

Bill to provide for the national defense and for the assertion and maintenance of the national honor.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the sum of $20,000,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be, and is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the construction, purchase, repair, and equipment of such, and so many, vessels of war, and for the construction, purchase, and repair of such, and so much, material and stores of naval warfare, and for the enlistment, transportation, equipment, and subsistence of such, and so many, sailors, officers, marines, and other men, as in the judgment of the Secretary of the Navy the public welfare may require.

On March 8, Congress passed a bill appropriating $50,000,000 for the national defense. We all realized, Mr. Chairman, that war was near, and we considered it our duty to make preparation for it.

THE PRESIDENT CALLS ON CONGRESS TO ACT.

When the court of inquiry reported that the *Maine* had been blown up by a submarine mine, the indignation of the American people burst forth like a suppressed volcano, and a vow was registered in their hearts that the flag of Spain should cease to float over the Island of Cuba.

Sobered by the mighty responsibilities resting upon him, and anxious to make as much preparation for war as possible, the

President moved calmly along, neither swayed by the whirlwind of public passion nor by the clamors of a partisan press, and on the 11th instant sent us a message wherein, after recounting the history of the Cuban rebellions and the efforts of Spain to suppress them by war and starvation, and the attempts of our Government to mediate, and after referring to the destruction of the *Maine*, despairing of any peaceful solution of the great and perplexing problem, he said:

> The long trial has proved that the object for which Spain has waged the war can not be attained. The fire of insurrection may flame or may smolder with varying seasons, but it has not been and it is plain that it can not be extinguished by present methods. The only hope of relief and repose from a condition which can no longer be endured is the enforced pacification of Cuba. In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests which give us the right and the duty to speak and to act, the war in Cuba must stop.
>
> In view of these facts and of these considerations, I ask the Congress to authorize and empower the President to take measures to secure a full and final termination of hostilities between the Government of Spain and the people of Cuba, and to secure in the island the establishment of a stable government, capable of maintaining order and observing its international obligations, insuring peace and tranquillity and the security of its citizens as well as our own, and to use the military and naval forces of the United States as may be necessary for these purposes.
>
> And in the interest of humanity and to aid in preserving the lives of the starving people of the island, I recommend that the distribution of food and supplies be continued, and that an appropriation be made out of the public Treasury to supplement the charity of our citizens.
>
> The issue is now with the Congress. It is a solemn responsibility. I have exhausted every effort to relieve the intolerable condition of affairs which is at our doors. Prepared to execute every obligation imposed upon me by the Constitution and the law, I await your action.

Voicing the sentiments of my own heart, and firmly believing that I was voicing the sentiments of the President and of my own constituents and of the great body of the American people, on April 12 I introduced the following resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs:

> Joint resolution to terminate hostilities in and secure the independence of the Island of Cuba.
>
> Whereas the condition of affairs, social, political, commercial, and military, in the Island of Cuba, as shown by the President's messages and accompanying documents, can no longer be tolerated by the United States; and
>
> Whereas it is manifest from said messages and documents that no stable government can be maintained in Cuba under the authority of Spain; and
>
> Whereas the American people believe the time has come when, in the course of human events, the Island of Cuba should be a free and independent state: Therefore,
>
> *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That the President be requested to enter upon negotiations with the Spanish Government looking to the withdrawal of its civil and military authorities from the Island of Cuba, and to the independence of the people of said island.
>
> *Resolved*, That in the event Spain should refuse to enter upon such negotiations, or entering upon them should fail to make such withdrawal in a reasonable time, the President is empowered and directed to at once grant belligerent rights to the Cuban insurgents, and to use such and so much of the military and naval forces of the United States as may be necessary to secure such withdrawal.

My purpose, Mr. Chairman, in presenting these resolutions was to give the President assurances of Congressional support in his diplomatic efforts to secure the withdrawal of the Spaniards from Cuba and to authorize him to grant belligerent rights to the Cuban insurgents and use our Army and Navy to compel the Spaniards to withdraw; and I know of a great many, both in and out of Congress, who believe that these resolutions are preferable to those adopted, and I am assured the President so thinks.

FEARS OF EUROPEAN INTERVENTION.

Some say, Mr. Chairman, it is too dangerous to aid the Cubans; that the other nations of Europe may combine against us. Mr. Chairman, when we hesitate to do our duty for fear of Europe we are already lost, and should at once take back our Declaration of Independence, declare George Washington a rebel and a traitor to his King, brand Andrew Jackson and his heroic host at New Orleans as wicked and lawless miscreants, tear the Stars and Stripes from our flagstaffs, disband our army, blow up the balance of our war ships, and on bended knees ask England to take us back again into her family and allow Canada to annex us under the British flag.

Oh, no, Mr. Chairman, we will not hesitate for fear of Europe. Our rights, our duties, do not depend on the favor of Europe. While the smile of Europe would be grateful in any war we might undertake, yet her frown would not deter us. Indeed, why should we expect her smile? Our people and form of government are a menace to every monarchy in Europe, and whenever we help another people to strike off the shackles of European bondage we are indirectly inciting the freedom-loving patriots of Europe to strike off their own shackles and overturn the thrones of kings and czars and emperors and become a free people, as we are to-day.

But Europe will not interfere. We go forth in this war not to conquer a people, but to make a people free; and if the kings of Europe should dare to interfere, we will do as France did a hundred years ago when the Kings of Europe undertook to interfere with her struggle for republican freedom. We will call a million of men to arms; we will bid the liberty-loving people of Europe to rise and strike for liberty; we will fill the seas with our war ships and privateers; we will drive out of this hemisphere every European nation not our ally, and we will thus inaugurate a new era of human liberty and make possible a grander destiny for the children of men. [Applause.]

THE WAR ONE OF DELIVERANCE.

It is sometimes said, Mr. Chairman, "Why does the United States attack a weak nation like Spain?" Mr. Chairman, we are not attacking Spain. We are going to the rescue of an oppressed people. We are going to drive a horde of tyrants and murderers out of Cuba, and off the American continent. If England were to maltreat Canada as Spain has maltreated Cuba, we would as promptly cross the Canadian border and drive the English out of Canada. The day of despotic European dominion on the continent of America has come to an end; and those European countries who still have colonies on this side of the Atlantic must understand that no tyranny or oppression of them will be tolerated.

Mr. Chairman, our Army and Navy do not go to Cuba in any war of revenge or glory or conquest. They go as the French came here in our war of independence—they go to deliver an oppressed people, they go to blow the trumpets of jubilee to the Cuban patriots, they go to raise the banner of national deliverance over the fairest island in the Western Hemisphere, and on that banner we will write: "Food for the starving; freedom for the captive; medicine for the sick; hope for the broken-hearted; liberty to all the land."

And there are others, Mr. Chairman—some who say that it is none of our business how Spain treats Cuba. What! None of our business if a fellow human being is being robbed or murdered or starved to death? Must I, like Cain, say, "Am I my brother's

keeper?" Like the priest and Levite in the parable, must we "pass by on the other side" and leave the Cubans to die? Must we forget how France and Lafayette came to our rescue when we were struggling for independence? Must we forget how England, France, and Russia went to the rescue of Greece when she, like the Cubans of to-day, was waging a doubtful battle for freedom with the Turks? Must we forget how the great powers of Europe have recently intervened by force to save the Island of Crete from just such a tyranny as now curses Cuba?

There, Mr. Chairman, on your left hand is that magnificent portrait of Lafayette. Why have we put it there, unless it be to teach us a lesson of gratitude and patriotism? Out of that canvas he looks at us; out of the pages of our history he speaks to us; and what does he say? He bids us do for Cuba what he did for us.

Mr. Chairman, why has the great and good God builded up this free and mighty nation in this New World? You know what we all say on Fourth of July occasions. We talk of "tearing down thrones and making tyrants tremble." And yet here at our very doors are tyrants who are doing the "tearing down," and tearing down liberty at that, while some of us are doing the "trembling." What! Is the old spirit of Americanism dead? Have the fires of liberty ceased to flame in our hearts? Has the soul of John Brown ceased marching on?

> In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
> With a glory in His bosom that transfigured you and me:
> As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
> While God is marching on!

Yes, Mr. Chairman, "God is marching on," and we are marching with Him; and we will march a million strong, if necessary, and will keep on marching until the armies and fleets of Spain are destroyed or driven off the Island of Cuba and the continent of America. [Applause.]

OUR DUTY AS A NATION.

We are the oldest and largest of the republics of America; we have for over a hundred years held ourselves forth as at once the model free government of the world and as the champion of republicanism in the Western Hemisphere; we have encouraged the people of South and Central America and of Mexico to strike for independence; we went to the rescue of Mexico when the soldiers of France, during our civil war, had overthrown its free government; we have encouraged our little sister Cuba to imitate the example we have set her as her great sister; we have given her to believe that we would befriend her as we befriended Mexico as against France and as we befriended Venezuela as against England; and now this little sister is struggling for her liberties as we struggled for ours from 1775 to 1781. She has won many battles against great odds and has lost thousands of noble and heroic sons, as we won and lost in our battles; and now, having shown herself worthy of freedom, she asks that we come to her rescue as France came to ours in 1778; and now, Mr. Chairman, shall we go to the rescue of this little sister of the sea? Shall we say to Spain, "Hands off!" Shall we say to Spain, "Call off your dogs of war and your bloodhounds of murder!" Shall we say to Spain, "Get in your ships and leave this continent!" Shall we say to Spain, "Go! and go quick! for the memory of the *Maine* is burning like a fiery furnace in our hearts, and if our pent-up wrath breaks forth we will destroy you as you destroyed the *Maine* and her crew!" [Applause.]

At the suggestion of the President, and prompted by considera-

tions of humanity and patriotism, and believing we owed it as a duty to mankind, on April 18 both Houses of Congress agreed on the following resolutions, which were duly approved by the President:

CONGRESS DIRECTS THE PRESIDENT TO INTERVENE.

Joint resolution for the recognition of the independence of the people of Cuba, demanding that the Government of Spain relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba, and to withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and directing the President of the United States to use the land and naval forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect.

Whereas the abhorrent conditions which have existed for more than three years in the Island of Cuba, so near our own borders, have shocked the moral sense of the people of the United States, have been a disgrace to Christian civilization, culminating, as they have, in the destruction of a United States battle ship, with 266 of its officers and crew, while on a friendly visit in the harbor or Havana, and can not longer be endured, as has been set forth by the President of the United States in his message to Congress of April 11, 1898, upon which the action of Congress was invited: Therefore,

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, First. That the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

Second. That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the Government of the United States does hereby demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

Third. That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States, to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

Fourth. That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

SPAIN ORDERED TO LEAVE CUBA AND WAR DECLARED.

In pursuance of these resolutions the President has demanded of Spain that she withdraw her authority and forces from the Island of Cuba; and, on her failure so to do, has ordered our ships to blockade the coast of Cuba, and called out 125,000 of the militia of the States; and on April 25 both Houses of Congress unanimously passed a bill declaring war against Spain, which bill the President immediately signed.

So now, Mr. Chairman, we are engaged in a war, and, as I have shown, engaged in a just war, a righteous war, a holy war, a war not for glory and not for greed, a war not of hate and not of revenge, but a war to rescue a neighboring people from an oppression the like of which has never before existed on the continents of America since Cortez massacred the Aztecs and Pizarro butchered the Peruvians. Congress and the President have highly resolved that there shall be no European despotism in this New World which we have consecrated to liberty, and that when any body of fellow-Americans appeal to us to deliver them from European tyrants, we will not hesitate to go to their rescue, cost what it may. And we call heaven and earth to witness that we draw our swords not as against Spain in Europe, but against Spain in America; not as against Spaniards, but against tyrants and murderers; not as against men, but against fiends who have outraged alike every law of heaven and every honorable impulse of humanity.

But, Mr. Chairman, while we must not hesitate because of the cost of this war, we must, nevertheless, prepare for the cost, and preparing for the cost, our Committee on Ways and Means have introduced this bill; and while if I had been intrusted with the drawing of it I would have made it somewhat different, neverthe-

less this can be said of the bill: It follows long-established principles of taxation for war purposes, and it will raise the requisite amount of money.

PAYING THE EXPENSES OF WAR.

The committee expects to raise about $90,000,000 of additional taxation without taxing anybody's house or anybody's farm or anybody's business, and submits the following estimate, showing the new taxes and the amounts from each source:

One dollar per barrel additional tax on fermented liquors, estimated to yield an increased revenue of	$33,000,000
Six cents per pound additional tax on tobacco and on tobacco in stock	15,000,000
A special tax of $4.80 per annum on dealers in tobacco and cigars, etc	5,000,000
An increase of $1 per thousand on cigars and cigarettes	5,000,000
A stamp tax on documents, instruments, checks, proprietary medicines, etc., substantially the same as it existed in 1866, with certain additions	30,000,000
A stamp tax on wines, mineral waters, and beverages sold in bottles, unestimated.	
An increase in the tonnage tax on vessels in the foreign trade	2,000,000

These are all taxes on objects which were assessed during or subsequent to the civil war with one exception, and therefore open up no new and untried system of taxation. They are all internal-revenue war taxes, that can be collected by the existing internal-revenue officials, slightly increased, with a small additional expense and with the minimum disturbance of trade.

In times of war we can not afford to be weighing probabilities or deliberating on theories; and the various patent schemes to raise money without taxing anybody except a few rich men and a few great corporations may do well enough to divert the attention of debating societies and expand the lungs and speeches of demagogues, but they can not be considered by men clothed with the tremendous responsibilities of raising hundreds of millions of extra dollars to enable our President to carry on successfully a war we have ordered him to wage. [Applause.]

We have declared war, Mr. Chairman. A declaration is mere talk. But war is not made by words. War is waged with men and ships, and guns, and ammunition; and all of these mean money, big money, cash money, money to-day, money right now and right here, money by millions and by hundreds of millions.

NO TIME FOR QUIBBLING OR CRITICISING.

I hope those gentlemen who were so loud in denouncing the President as vacillating because he did not make war on Spain more than two months ago, I hope those gentlemen who have been shouting "On to Havana!" ever since the *Maine* was destroyed and who have been charging the President with forgetting those murdered heroes who yet lie unavenged in the mud at the bottom of Havana Harbor—I hope all of these warlike and patriotic gentlemen will not refuse to come up and vote for this bill because it does not provide for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1, or because it does not provide an income tax, or because it makes no provision for an additional issue of greenbacks.

I hope these gentlemen will not let our soldiers suffer for food or clothing or our Navy fail for want of guns and ammunition while they quibble over the taxes on beer, wine, and chewing gum and deprecate a tax on cigarettes, bank checks, and patent medicines. He who quibbles in time of peace may please by his ingenuity, but he who quibbles in time of war disgusts by his frivolity, and there are occasions when frivolity is akin to treason.

Some gentlemen say that an income tax would pay half of the

expenses of this war. Mr. Chairman, has not the Supreme Court declared an income tax unconstitutional? Oh, they say, the court may have changed its mind! What! Mr. Chairman, shall we rely upon the results of a lawsuit to carry on a great war? Will Spain wait a year while the lawsuit is going through the courts? What folly, Mr. Chairman! To carry on war we want sure money, and we want quick money, and this is what this bill will give us, and will give it without oppressing any man or any woman.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I wish to say that it is no light matter to make war and vote away hundreds of millions of the people's money. I believe I fully realize the tremendous responsibility, but we are face to face with a great duty. I believe the God of nations will approve our action in this momentous matter. I believe our children and our children's children will approve it, as we to-day approve the wars our fathers waged in their day; and I believe the great majority of the brave and patriotic men and the true-hearted women of my country approve it; and so believing, I will give my vote and voice to this bill, and will give my vote and voice to every other bill that will hold up the hands of our President, that will encourage our Army and Navy, that will redeem Cuba from her bondage, and will lift the flag of my country still higher and make it shine still brighter. [Applause.]

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